1: Méraux--88 E-5 (1929) 1930 SF10 Chiriguano SF10 Guaraní SF4

/312 cont./ The exploration of Alejo García.

Cabeza de Vaca, continued by his lieutenant, Francisco de Ribera, is a second example that shows very well that the excursions of the Guaraní did not constitute exceptional deeds that were extremely dangerous to accomplish.

Having arrived at a certain distance from the spurs of the Andes, the Guaraní entered the territory of the Chané Indians.

It was in one of these numerous warlike ventures of the Guaraní that the Portuguese adventurer Alejo García took part with several other comrades.

I am convinced that the 7,000 (according to Díaz de Guzmán, p. 70) Guaraní whom this adventurer accompanied so far as Peru formed only one of the numerous bands of warriors of this nation who, each year, from every point of the Guaraní territory, used to cross the Paraguay River, then the deserts of the Chaco.

Ruy Díaz de Guzmán, who reports this event, sees things in too simple a light. A migration is not made at one time nor in one year. That of the Guaraní lasted perhaps several decades, without, however, necessarily speaking of centuries. Twenty or thirty years must have sufficed for the nucleus of the Chiriguano nation to form between the upper Pilcomayo and the Guapay River. The penetration of the Guaraní into /314/ the Chaco took place in a rather chaotic and incoherent fashion. The conquistadors were continually meeting on their route Guaraní groups who, for one reason or another, could not succeed in joining their brothers established beyond the Chaco. These Guaraní, who blazed the trails followed by the invaders, were valuable guides for the Spanish adventurers, and they were the ones who led them to Peru. For long years there were uninterrupted communication and incessant coming and going between Paraguay and the eastern slope of the Bolivian Andes.

/336 cont./

cross a people of the Zchenone (Chané) in whom by reason of their geographic situation we must see the Chané-Guaraní. "They are vassals and subjects of the Mayaieu (Mbeyá) as with us the peasants are subject to their lords." We also have no trouble in recognizing the Chané in the Quesnaey (Guaraní) whom Alcide d'Orbigny mentions, according to an old account, as having been subjugated by their neighbors the Chiriguano and obliged by them to cultivate their fields. In the 18th century the Chané, as prisoners of war of the Chiriguano, had been quartered /Plate V appears here/ /335/ like slaves in villages called Chané after them. When Lozano declares that the Chiriguano call their slaves Chané, an ethnic value must be given to this phrase. The state of subjection of the Chané in relation to the Chiriguano is explained in the linguistic sphere by the name which the first used to give to the seconds: chaya, 'my master,' the Chané used to say when addressing the Chiriguano, and the latter called the Chané tapii, 'my slave.'

"The little we know about the Chané who live in the last regions of the northern Chaco is connected exclusively with the activity of the Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries of the Collège de Tarija. The first evangelized the Chané in the 17th century at the same time as the Chiriguano; and in 1734 they formed with them a doctrina /Christianized Indian village/ in the vicinity of Santa Cruz. It was called San Juan de los Parapetes and in 1767 was under the authority of a parish priest. It was only with great difficulty that the Chané could be assembled, in 1767 and 1788, into the two missions of Asero and Ite. We learn from a report by Father Pedro Bartolomé addressed to Francisco Aguirre that the Pilipili mission in 1789 was made up of Chané Indians whose racial brothers were living mingled with the Chiriguano on the borders of Chuquisaca and Santa Cruz. Viedma, who visited the missions in 1788, found in the villages of the Parapití Chiriguano and Chané who were living together, united under the authority of the Franciscan missionaries. The activity of the missionaries among the Chané naturally was to have as a consequence a rupture of the bonds

[Text continues on P. 51]

/332 cont./ Permanent?

villages were there under the command of hereditary caciques. The middle course of the Parapití formed their boundary to the east. In the 18th century the Chiriguano constituted the most important and remarkable nation of the western Chaco. The statistics concerning them vary a great deal: the figures, given with their usual exaggerations, vary between 41,000 and 15,000 warriors. The Chané are included in this number, which completely removes all value from these statistics." (Kersten, pp. 68-69.)

Today the boundaries of the Chiriguano have stayed about the same. But even though they inhabit a territory whose extent has varied little, their situation has none the less undergone great changes. Several thousand half-breeds from Tarija, Santa Cruz, and Chuquisaca have settled inside this area that we have defined. A Chiriguano frontier no longer exists, but only remains of villages and small groups which still mark the former extent of the tribe. On the other hand, the number of Chiriguano has diminished terribly and is diminishing each day, so that a few years from now the true habitat /333/ of the Chiriguano will be contained between the Parapiti and the Pilcomayo and will be reduced to the former Franciscan missions and to several valleys of the Precordillera, such as those of Caipipendí and Iglembé (1).

1. Some historians not well informed about the ethnic geography of South America have claimed that in the 16th century the Chiriguano lived well beyond the boundaries I have indicated. One of them (Dr. Fulgencio Moreno) went so far in this direction that he attributes to the Chiriguano the possession of a large part of northwestern Argentina and pushes this fancy to the point of locating them almost as far as in the province of Córdoba. Mr. Coni in an excellent monograph, documents in hand, has done good justice to these bold allegations and has demonstrated that these hypotheses were without foundation.

/393/

Decline of the Art of Pottery among the Chiriguano

323 178 415 Of all the Chiriguano industries the most threatened one is doubtless ceramics. The Chiriguano can claim the glory of having been until recently the last Indians of South America /Fig. 64 appears here/ to have a pottery which deserved to be included in the number of beautiful manifestations of this art, so brilliantly represented in certain regions of the continent. Today things have changed a great deal. Villages in which one can still find women capable of decorating vessels with the mastery of former days have become rare and are limited 415 to a restricted area. /394/ It was in the tolderías of the Timboy, 126 the Great Salado and the Little Salado, in the region of Yumbía 178 and in the Igüembé valley (upper Pilcomayo, departments of Tarija and Chuquisaca) that I was able to collect the finest specimens in my collection. Elsewhere it was exceptional /Fig. 65 appears here/ /see p. 166/ to be lucky enough to lay my hands on a fine piece; and, if I did have this luck several times, it was almost always a question of an old vessel pre- [197] served as if by a miracle. The Franciscan missions which formerly gave Nordenskiöld and Holmberg such fine specimens 197 contributed less toward enriching my collections. Nothing ex- 323 presses the sad state of decline of the Chiriguano better than 415 what I /395/ could observe in the Macharetí mission. After 178 going through nearly all the huts of this large village, which in [162] normal times has close to 2,000 inhabitants, I could scarcely acquire five or six yambuí having some artistic value. There [463] were no longer more than three or four women who still knew how to hold a brush and they had to /Fig. 66 appears here/ /see p. 167/ provide for almost the whole village. In a few years the ancient painted pottery will exist only in memory in the large village where the famous "Captain" Mandepona lived.

323 415 178 177 This decline has several causes. The first is the state of profound demoralization in which the Chiriguano are found, the total disorganization of their social life, and the increasing influence of the white men, followed by its corruptive effects: finally, the introduction of manufactured products, first and foremost gasoline cans.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

C 175 648

Inca fortresses were visited by Nordenskiöld (1915 a, 1924 a), who described them under the names of Incallacta and Incahuasi. They bear witness to the accuracy of the various traditions concerning the *Guaraní* invasions, recorded by the chroniclers of Perú and of the Rio de la Plata.

C CC 648 195 CC [197] C [266]

Along the Andes, the *Chiriguano* found a peaceful *Arawakan* population, the *Chané*, a branch of the *Chané* or *Guana* tribe, which occupied the northern part of the Chaco along the Paraguay River. The western *Chané*, after centuries of close contact with the Andean cultures, had been deeply influenced by them. They dressed like their neighbors, the Andean *Chicha*, produced a pottery which resembled that of Southern Bolivia and of the valley of Humahuaca, wore metal ornaments and used metal tools. The *Chané* fell easy prey to the *Guaraní*, who slaughtered and ate many of them and reduced the remaining population to a condition of serfdom. The *Guaraní* invaders, having brought few of their own women, however, took *Chané* wives. The fusion of these two tribes produced a civilization in which Andean, *Guaraní*, and some *Arawak* features were intimately blended. The *Chané* did not entirely lose their identity, however, for along the Parapetí River, in the Caipipendi Valley, on the Itiyuro River, and in the Province of Salta (Argentine), *Chané* villages survived under their own chiefs. But even these have adopted the *Guaraní* language and today cannot be distinguished from their conquerors. The *Chiriguano*, nevertheless, consider the *Chané* somewhat inferior, while the latter remember the forays and cannibalistic habits of their former masters. The *Chané* language, probably extinct now, was spoken by a few persons as late as 1908.

C [186] CC [197]

C CC 175 648 162

The number of *Chané* is said to have greatly exceeded that of the *Guaraní* invaders. They extended from the Rio Grande (Guapay River) to the Argentine along the foothills of the Andes. At the beginning of the 17th century, according to Ruy Díaz de Guzmán, in the region of Machareti, 400 *Chiriguano* ruled over 5,000 *Chané;* in Charagua, 350 *Chiriguano* owned 4,000 *Chané* serfs; and on the Guapay River, 200 *Chiriguano* kept 1,000 *Chané* in subjection.

C 175 648

The first White settlement in the land of the *Chiriguano* was the ephemeral town of Santo Domingo de la Nueva Rioja, founded in 1564 on the upper Parapetí (Cordorillo) River by Manso and destroyed a short time later by the *Chiriguano*. In 1571 the *Chiriguano* attacked the *Chicha* and the natives of the Provinces of Condorillo and Barranca. To punish them for their "arrogance," the Viceroy of Perú, Francisco de Toledo, led an expedition against them. The Indians avoided battle and harassed the troops of the Viceroy until he was obliged to retreat in shameful defeat (1574). San Lorenzo de la Frontera, which became the modern Santa Cruz de la Sierra, was founded primarily to keep the *Chiriguano* at bay.

C 175 797 648

The first attempt to convert the *Chiriguano* to Christianity was made in 1609, when two Franciscans, Augustín Sabio and Francisco Gonzalez, built a church in the valley of Salinas, but the reduction was soon abandoned because of Indian opposition. The Jesuit fathers founded a college in Tarija in 1690 and undertook the spiritual conquest of the *Chiriguano*. In 1691, Father Arce founded a mission in the valley of Tariquea, which lasted only 3 years; another mission, established on the Guapay River by Fathers Zea and Centeno, met the same fate. At the beginning of the 18th century, the Dominicans founded three missions in the valley of Chiquiacá, Nuestra Señora del Rosario, San Miguel, and Santa Rosa, while the Augustins formed the Mission of Santa Clara in the valley of Salinas. In 1715, the Jesuits reestablished their ancient mission of Tariquea. In 1727, all the missions in the *Chiriguano* country were destroyed by the rebellion of the chief, Aruma, and his followers, who feared being taken into slavery. The revolt was crushed by an armed expedition sent from Santa Cruz and composed of Spaniards, "tame" *Chiriguano*, and *Chiquito* auxiliary troops. The *Chiriguano* had been aroused against the missions by the fear of being taken into slavery.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

In 1732, the conversion of the *Chiriguano* was entrusted again to the Jesuits. Fathers Julian Lizardi, José Pons, and Ignacio Chomé entered the southern part of the *Chiriguano* territory and founded the missions of Concepción and Rosario in the valley of Salinas. About the same time, the Franciscans built a missionary center in Tarija and in 1757 they sent missionaries to the *Chiriguano*. In 1767, they reestablished the mission of the Purísima Concepción de Pilipili. After the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767, the Franciscans continued their work with great success. Between that time and the end of the 18th century, the Franciscans founded many new missions north of the Guapay River (Rio Grande): Abapo, Mazabi, Caberas, Piray, Igmiri, Tacurú, Iti, Parapetí, Itau, Tapera, Iguirapucuti, Tacuaremboti, Piriti, and Obaig. Some of these were annihilated when the Indians rose in arms in 1796 and 1799. During the war of independence, the Franciscan missions were completely abandoned. In 1845, the Franciscans resumed the conversion of the *Chiriguano*, and built a series of new missions from Itau to the Parapetí River. The more important of these were San Francisco, Tarairi, Machareti, Santa Rosa, San Antonio de Huacaya, Ivu, and San Francisco del Parapetí. In 1886, a messiah called the *Chiriguano* to arms against the Bolivians by assuring the Indians that they had nothing to fear because their oppressors' guns would only "spit water." The messiah and his followers were defeated near Cuevo.

In 1929, the last missions were secularized, and the *Chiriguano* lost the protection of the Franciscans. Many of them migrated to the Argentine where they were employed as skilled workers in the sugar factories. The Chaco war spread havoc in the *Chiriguano* villages at the foot of the Andes. The *Chané* of the Parapetí River then put themselves under the protection of the Paraguayan army, and today they live around the fort of Toledo, intermarrying with Paraguayans, whom they consider to be their kinsmen, "because of the close relationship between both *Guaraní* dialects." These *Chané* are sometimes erroneously designated as "*Guarayos*."

The 16th- and 17th-century chroniclers estimated the *Chiriguano* population at only a few thousand, exclusive of their *Chané* vassals. In 1810, there were 23,936 *Chiriguano* in the Franciscan missions. This figure includes only half the *Chiriguano* tribe, as the pagan members south of the Parapetí River were not reckoned. Cardús (1886, p. 242) gives the following estimate of the *Chiriguano* during the second half of the 19th century: In the province of Acero, 18,000; in the Cordillera and in the region of Izoro, 20,000; in the Chaco, from 5,000 to 6,000. Of these, only 8,000 were captured and 3,187 lived under missionary care. In 1928, the total *Chiriguano* population was said to be 20,000. Today, after the Chaco war and constant migrations to the Argentine, their number must be greatly reduced.

ARCHEOLOGY

Few archeological finds were made in the region occupied by the *Chiriguano*. Nordenskiöld (1924 a, p. 40) mentions burial urns and ancient sites on the Parapetí River, and similar burials were discovered at Tarupayu. In some graves the dead were seated and were covered with several inverted bowls piled on one another. These bowls have hollow rims filled with pellets. Nordenskiöld refers also to direct burial in urns which show the characteristic corrugations of the *Chiriguano* and *Guaraní* ware.

At Yumbia, in the Province of Tarija, at the borderline between *Chiriguano* and *Quechua* territory, the present author obtained fragments of pots with hollow rims, an anthropomorphic vessel with ring-shaped body covered with a red slip, and a specimen of beautiful stone panpipes with

/77 cont./

"Conumi," lad, do not have an accent on the i in Chiriguano, but they do in Guaraní.

In past centuries the race, and therefore the language, embraced a great deal of territory, but today it is greatly reduced, and I can state without danger of error that it is still numerous in Caipipendi, Pipi, Choreti, Tasete, Araticu, and in the Potosí and Tarija missions; but in the former places it is scattered among many little towns, while in the latter it makes up respectable towns of 500, 1,000, and 2,000 souls (2).

2. Choreti Guasu is located on the left bank of the Parapiti in Cordillera Province; it almost forms a single town with Membirai, and between the two of them they have about 110 families.

Purity of language is now no longer found in any town or in the missions, in the first because of living among whites and continually emigrating to the Argentine Republic, and in the second, the missions, for a third reason, instruction in Spanish, which the missionaries give the boys and girls in the schools; thus, if the race is not finished first, as is feared, because of the continual epidemics and vagrancy, the language will soon be lost, and then the few books that exist will only serve as an historical monument for posterity, which will be able to recognize the merit and labor of the missionaries who spread among them, the Chiriguano, and poured out sweat with the sole purpose of civilizing them in a Christian way (3).

3. There are a grammar, a Spanish-Chiriguano dictionary, a catechism with its translation, Father Corrado's masterpiece, a small Chiriguano-Spanish "Nene" /"Infant"; the work referred to is Nino's Nene Chiriguano/, and many unpublished sermons.

/78/

Statistics

161 The tribe is in complete decadence and in a few more
162 years will be entirely lost. At the beginning of the nine-
[181] teenth century, that is, before the war of South American Independence, in the Tarija missions alone there were more than 23,000 souls, and nevertheless that number did not include any of the numerous towns existing between the two large Parapiti and Pilcomayo rivers or the Indians of Caipipendi, Choreti, Pipi, and others located south of Lagunillas. At that time, I can state that the Chiriguano numbered more than 200,000, inasmuch as, according to the statistics of Father Lozano, the adult men fit for war, without counting women and children, numbered from 25,000 to 35,000.

167 Although Father Lozano was referring to the beginning of the eighteenth century, the difference must have been slight, because at the beginning of the nineteenth century there was not felt as there is today the emigration to the Argentine Republic, which began when the territory was opened to trade with the founding of towns of white Christians, which there are now in great number, up to the founding of large provinces with the names of Acero, Cordillera, and Gran Chaco, nor was there so much immorality as prevails today (1).

1. New laws have been made which make recruitment for Argentina impossible, and Dr. don Justo Padilla, the present national delegate from the Gran Chaco, at the present time does not allow the law to be merely written; he lets nobody through.

165 Epidemics, vagrancy, and emigration more than any-
161 thing, in addition to scarcity of provisions, are destroying this race, which is greatly needed and will be needed later for agriculture and cattle-raising in the provinces which have
ooo been mentioned. Today there is already a need for farmers,

464 /78 cont./ Today there is already a need for farmers,
797 and everybody is coming to the missions looking for day laborers, muleteers, and herders, cheese-makers, house-builders, etc., etc. How will it be later? (2) The immi-

> 2. H. Montero's project, approved by the Commission in the year 1910, may well be approved by Congress, but it seems impossible to me that the caciques will report the Indians who try to go to Argentina. To charge missionary padres to send 25 per cent of the people to the intendancies, where they will receive a daily pay which is lower than what they are paid in their own town, is to drive away the missionary who cannot comply with this obligation every month because the Indians will resist it or run away.

gration of useful people, not idle people, is necessary, but not in order to destroy the missionary centers, /79/ as is proposed, because this would soon end up by destroying the tribe, but colonizing what is unpopulated. What did the government achieve by the absence of missionaries in Villa Montes? That the Indians will now not work for anyone, and only do so when they are good and ready. All the authority of a delegation was not sufficient to get a few days' work out of its population, and for this reason the previous work was at the point of being completely destroyed; weeds had taken over in the vineyards and gardens which had been so fruitful and so well maintained in the time of the earlier missionaries.

178 Now almost all of the great Chiriguano centers have
464 disappeared, and barely the names of the great caciques of
[161] some faction or other remain; in all of the cantons the disappearance of the labor force causes astonishment, and
[797] service is scarcely to be obtained for fuel. Even the missions
[162] are undergoing this decline; in Acero Province there must be some 5,000 souls, in Cordillera some 8,000, in the

/79 cont./

178 Chaco and O'Connor Province, 5,000, in the Tarija
464 missions there are 4,500, and in those of Potosí, 3,905, which
[197] makes a total of 26,405, including men and women, big
[162] and small, old and young. But of this number there are scarcely 8,000 day laborers, or strong men fit for any work, and what is the extent of land in Chiriguano hands through
[131] their own will or that of others? Some 140 leagues from
[465] north to south, more than 40 from east to west; if today the cultivation of these lands is difficult, tomorrow it will be impossible; if today it is hard to pay 40 centavos to the day laborer, tomorrow they will not be found for 80 centavos.

648 There is a great struggle under way between the
[167] Chiriguano and the white; the latter struggles to increase his fortune and hacienda at any cost and tries to dominate and does dominate the Chiriguano, as one who is nobler and more powerful; the former struggles for his existence as long as he can, but, because he is weak and inferior, yields to the power of the white; when his spirit has been broken by the superior force which dominates him like a slave, he disappears and imperceptibly emigrates to a place where he is treated with more apparent humanity, though not certain and real, but which the Indian does not recognize (1).

[464] 1. According to references, the day laborer in Argentina earns 25 or 30 nacionales per month, without food, which in a foreign land is expensive for the Chiriguano; nevertheless, since the clothing and the animals which the company sells are not expensive, the day laborers who are economical and not given to drink come back well clothed, bringing a horse or an ass or clothing for his children and wife.

178 From this /80/ it follows that the large towns of former
197 times and the very missions which antedate South American
361 independence have in some cases disappeared entirely and others are on the point of disappearing.

/94 cont./

631 648 If this were the case, the boundaries of the new canton should be the following, according to the agreement made by the Representación Chuquisaqueña /from Chuquisaca/: on the south the left bank of the stream Vitiacua, on the north the parallel of the stream of Cuevo, on the east the range of Aguaragüe up to said parallel, on the west the ranges of Saararenta and Irenta, and on the southwest the stream of Chimbe.

[797] [162] Within this delimitation are included several Chiriguano towns, the most populous being the missions of Santa Rosa, with more than 1,200 inhabitants, and that of San Buenaventura de Ivu with 652 souls.

White families are few, but not less than 40, which could give a total of at least 160 souls. It might be that with time this small population will grow in the new canton, as that of Cuevo grew.

797 177 463 648 Years are needed for the Chiriguano Indian to be able to take over the political government of a town, in spite of the fact that in the relatively new missions there are musicians, carpenters, woodworkers, masons, saddlers, shoemakers, tailors, and young men who know how to write well and to read better, but it is one thing to know an art or a trade and quite another one to have to administer justice.

/95/ The experience of many years of missionary life and what I have seen in the missions abandoned since the war of Independence justifies my opinion that many years are needed for the Chiriguano Indians to be able to fill certain public offices such as that of corregidor and parish alcalde.

A Project

000 The eastern zone, which today belongs to the three departments of Santa Cruz, Tarija, and Sucre, is somewhat threatened by foreign countries, but it might be that the Bolivian Republic could make friendly settlements with the neighboring nations.

/101 cont./

361 799 1. Machareti. -- Father Jerónimo de la Peña was the first to enter Machareti, but, before he could begin any work, death intervened, and only after a century, that is, in the year 1869, could the Cross of Redemption be raised, around which began to gather the settlers dispersed by the war and the death of Captain Taruncunti, not very friendly to the missionaries.

[162] Before the mission had been founded for ten years, it numbered more than 3,000 souls, but today it is much smaller, [167] its inhabitants reaching 1,500. Emigration to the Republic [464] of Argentina is a real plague for this area, because the principal recruiters of Indians for work outside of Bolivian territory are there, and it is useless to cite laws, because there are clever interpreters; meanwhile all wail for workers.

361 [133] Machareti has a delightful and picturesque panorama; to the north and to the east the human eye cannot take in the immensity of the plains or the exuberance of the woods and the variety and caprice of the hills. The town is located on a great plain, but is now quite reduced; its buildings, atop a high hill which dominates everything; it has a beautiful church with painting and /102/ gildings, a mission house of two stories, two great halls, with their respective patios, for instruction, and a third one for the music school, and also other buildings for shops (1).

361 799 131 1. When the Machareti mission was founded, it cut off the retreat of the bellicose Huacayeños, who were coming into the Gran Chaco by the Chorro road, some 15 leagues from Huacaya and some 12 from Ivu; its altitude above sea level is 771 meters and it is located at 20° 49' 58" south latitude and 63° 3' 44" longitude west of the meridian of Greenwich.

/102 cont./

797 2. Tigüipa. -- This mission, dedicated to the universal Patron of the Church, the Patriarch St. Joseph, began its existence on May 20, 1872, the day when, for the first time, the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass was celebrated, and there was planted in its territory the Tree of Redemption; it is some 12 kilometers from Machareti, with quite a rough road.

361 797 [162] At present it has a population of 800 souls. The town, made up of both infidels and neophytes, is quite neat; the buildings are not very well arranged, and the ones which merit consideration are: its tall and beautiful church, broad and well-proportioned, with its magnificent choir, gilded altars, and well-turned railings; in addition, the beautiful mechanism of double trusses which support the roof. Its house is new, of a single story, and was begun in the month of August or July in the year 1910 and dedicated in March of this year; the other buildings neither follow any arrangement nor are of any worth, and lend to the whole a rather sad appearance, but once the renovation of both towns has been completed, the planned arrangement of the buildings for instruction and workshops will be made.

[133] Its panorama has nothing in particular: to the west, the last range of the Andes, to the north and south, some rather high hills rise at a short distance and obstruct the view for the curious observer, who, frustrated in his desire to see and observe, finds a slight relief to the east, where the horizon opens out and gladdens the heart; it seems to be the older sister of the San Pascuál de Boicovo Mission. The climate is in general healthy, in spite of the fact that the mission is located in a hollow, but the water, or the location of the place, dulls the understanding of its residents, according to what all the travelers note (?). /Illustration appears here./

[563] [464] [131] 2. In the years of abundance several nomadic tribes come to this mission and remain there serving the Chiriguano in exchange for food. Its elevation above sea level is 715 meters, and it is located at 20° 27' 18" south latitude and 62° 14' 44" longitude west of the meridian of Greenwich.

[text continues on p 141]

/104 cont./

797 has left the mission house and the garden for the use and comfort of the Father-Chaplain. It is located at 778 meters above sea level and at 21° 46' 10" south latitude and 62° 48' 35" longitude west of the meridian of Greenwich.

5. San Francisco and San Antonio. -- In the missions called San Antonio and San Francisco del Pilcomayo the Supreme Government decided to found a city under the name of Villa-Montes; but after it was handed over by the missionaries in the year 1906, instead of progressing, those flourishing settlements have retrogressed. The vineyards and gardens have deteriorated. The buildings are falling into ruin, and morality fell precipitously and is progressively [891] worse there. The schools for boys and girls have been reduced to very few students, and for these few the national treasury distributes 160 bolivianos per month, while to the chaplain who has to live there it pays no more than 240 bolivianos per year.

Everything that belonged to the two missions, such as implements, carpentry, buildings, sugar mills, cattle, horses, etc., was handed over with an inventory to the national delegate, Dr. Don Leocadio Trigo, and the missionaries, without being able to use even a cell which might serve as lodging for the night for the Father Chaplain, had no other recourse but to shake even the dust from their sandals.

• [162] The approximate population of Chiriguano natives in the above towns is 4,500 souls (2).

2. The Supreme Government rented the mission building to the German company, which has made little progress. It is located at 460 meters above sea level and at 21° 16' 15" south latitude and at 62° 20' 2" longitude west of the meridian of Greenwich.

/204 cont./

643 648 797 Regional caciques are now very few, and they themselves are submissive servants of the whites, who do not let them live as they would like very much, but in matters referring to morality do let them live as they wish. Only the missionary makes them understand that such a life is contrary to divine law, but the Chiriguano refuses to understand this.

595 574 829 643 The important men assert that to possess many wives is necessary for the preparation of chicha for offering hospitality to guests and visitors. This excuse is not satisfactory, because the cacique in the town where he resides is like an absolute king, and nothing is easier than to command his subordinates or relatives and always have his favorite drink; no matter how much of it he may want, he can always ask for more for himself or for his guests.

595 622 [582] The subaltern caciques in general are bigamists, but they do not become such in their youth, when they are like hummingbirds, but at 40 or 50 years of age. This happens when the first wife is older than the husband, or his eye is caught by another younger woman whom he brings to his house as soon as he has her in peaceful possession. He at once orders the old woman to respect her. If she is quiet and consents, she continues working and serving her rival in the interest of food, but if she is not quiet, she receives a good dose of the stick, is thrown out of the house, and does not get back into it. But there are strong-minded women who do not allow the desecration of their home /illustration appears here/ /205/ where they have lived for years and have children of both sexes, who are then left behind because the man moves to the second wife's house (1).

[162] [169]

1. Formerly, women were abundant because of wars. Today they are abundant because of the emigration of the Indian men to the Republic of Argentina.

[text continues on p. 279]

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,½(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

can be kept in a museum or for which one may find — given favourable circumstances — archeaological comparative material. Besides weapons, ornaments etc there is thus included also burial customs, tatooing, dancing-masks, etc.

The reader will find that I have endeavoured to make this part more graphic than Part I . From the maps of bibliography it will be seen regarding what regions I have had access to literature; it can also, in some measure, be seen whether the blanks on the maps are due to those particular tribes never having been closely studied.

The maps of distributions in this work are fewer in number than in Part I. This is because we find the Chiriguano and Chané, or one of these tribes, on twenty-nine maps in Part I. Part I is largely preparatory to Part II. Parts I and 2 together contain 45 maps showing the distribution of culture-elements occuring among the Chané and (or) Chiriguano.

All who are interested in the ethnography of S. America will, I venture to think, find the maps worth close study and will see that from them various deductions can be made not only respecting the Chiriguano and Chané Indians but also as to the ethnography of S. America in general. In some measure I have, indeed, endeavoured to do this myself.

The land of the Chiriguano and Chané the Indians streches from near Sta Cruz de la Sierra to near Rio Bermejo. Southwards of Sta Cruz the territory inhabited by the Chiriguano is continuous. The Chané, on the other hand, live in several different quarters, some at the river Itiyuro in the Argentine, some at Caipipendi near the Rio Pilcomayo, some at the Lower Rio Parapiti, and others near Itau south of the Rio Pilcomayo. The neighbours of the Chiriguano and Chané are the Mataco-Vejos, Mestizos, and Whites to the south, the Matacq, Toba, Tapiete, (Yanaygua) and Tsirakua to the east, to the north Mestizos and Whites, and to the west Quichua, Mestizos, and Whites.

S:Nordenskiöld E-5,4 (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

Some Choroti live near Yacuiba. In nearly all of the Chiriguano territory there are Mestizos and Whites. There are also several large missionary stations in their territory. Some few Chiriguano live in the village of Stª Rosa to the north of Stª Cruz de la Sierra. Some Chiriguano who sought refuge in central Chaco after their last rebellion, live there still. They are the only tribe of Chiriguano-Indians who are quite independent of the Whites.

The country which is inhabited by the Chiriguano and partly by the Chané is a border land between the Andine mountains and the great plain of the Chaco. It is in the valleys between the outermost mountain ridges towards the Chaco and on the plain to the east of them that the Chiriguano and the Chané live. The land of the Chiriguano and Chané-Indians is not a real country of primeval forests. There are some great forests, but on the whole it is sparsely wooded, in places even very poorly wooded. The supply of water is the governing condition for settlement in the land of these Indians. It may be said that wherever there is access to water there the country is inhabited, at any rate as regards the region south of the Rio Grande, one of the great rivers that run through their territory. There need not be a great supply of water for the Indians to find the country inhabitable. All that is necessary is sufficient drinking-water for man and beast, as at Itatique and in the Caipipendi valley near Rio Parapiti.

The biggest rivers running through the territory of the Chiriguano and the Chané are the Rio Grande, the Rio Parapiti and above all the Rio Pilcomayo. The Rio Grande may now almost be considered the boundary river of these tribes towards the north, and is of but little importance to them. The Rio Parapiti is a strange river. While well supplied with water in the mountains it is almost shrinks to nothing in the plains during the dry season. During the rains it is very full of water and may be dangerous to ford. Fish are plentiful only in the Rio Pilcomayo, and we

6: Nordenskiöld--24 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF 8

/171 cont./
on the Rio Parapiti make raids on the Tsirakua Indians. The Ashluslay also maintain, as my interpreter told me, that /172/ the Toba chief Taycolique, during his invasion of their territory in 1909, had several Chiriguano with him.

Batirayu said that in former times the Chané brought home the heads of their slain enemies and set them up on the plazas of the villages during festivals.

Fig. 82. Clay vessel of the Chané. 1/4.
Rio Parapiti.

/173/ Chapter Eleven

From the Land of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians

Everyday Life in the Chané and Chiriguano Huts

As a rule, I felt very comfortable in the huts of the Chané and Chiriguano. The life in these villages is exactly the same. If one describes one village, he has described almost all of them.

Like all the other Indians whom I visited south of Santa Cruz de la Sierra in Bolivia, these Indians live in villages. Some of these villages are quite large and inhabited by several hundred persons. Often many villages lie close together. The huts, as a rule, lie around a market place on which sweeping trees are occasionally planted for shelter in the rainy season. The market places serve as playgrounds and meeting places. The huts, in contrast to the round Chorotí and Ashluslay huts, are square, and their doors, facing the village, are set in the gable. They are made of cane or wooden slats, with roofs of grass. Not infrequently they are plastered with earth.

6: Nordenskiöld--60 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8
GUARAYU SF11

/207 cont./

says it is probably known to all Brazilian tribes. On the other hand, the custom of the couvade seems to be unknown to the Quichua /Quechua/ and Aymara, that is to say, to the mountain culture in Bolivia and Peru. This is one of the many contrasts between the Indians of the mountains and of the virgin forest.

The Güarayú Indians of northeastern Bolivia told me that if a man goes hunting immediately after his wife's confinement and, for example, shoots a parrot, he might kill his child. That is, during the first days of life the soul of the child follows the father.

Illegitimate children are very rarely born among the Chané and Chiriguano. I believe, perhaps I am mistaken, that the women of these Indians are chaste before they marry. On the Rio Ityuro, among about 500 Chané, there was only one child born to an unmarried woman. Deformed children are very rarely born. Thus, from what I saw and what Batiseyu said, in the entire Parapiti Valley, among 1500-2,000 Chané, there is no one who was born blind, none cross-eyed, no idiot, and only one with deformed extremities, and four deaf mutes. I did not observe any Indians with a serious stutter.

I do not know whether among these Indians, too, deformed children are immediately killed, but this is probably the case. Nor do I know whether abortion occurs. It is certain, however, that these healthy women seldom bear children who are not well formed. Nevertheless, in the Parapiti valley, as was said, there was a boy with deformed extremities. One hip bone was too short and one arm was also crippled. This boy was treated by all with extraordinary kindness, /208/ and loud approval was expressed when I gave him a few small presents.

When the child begins to walk, it is given a name. This *is not given by the father or mother, but by its* grandparents. Among the Chané on the Rio Parapiti I wrote down a few names. If it is a boy, he is called, for example, yandurembi (lip of the cask), hubucaca (guanaco), tïnunambi (armadillo ear), yänducüpe (ostrich beck), vacatuyüca (cow head), aguachivi (fox urine), *derëa paravëe* (your poor eye); if it is a girl, for example, *ñanayapei* (guava blossom) (1). A great many of the names are

1. *Psidium guayava.*

Chane SF8
Guarani SM4

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/7 cont./ By continually enslaving the Indians of the subjugated tribes, the Chiriguano by the end of the 16th century already had numerous subjects and auxiliaries in their wars. Most of the Tamacocies (later called Chamacoco) and the Chané were among these, and if other documents of 1583 and 1584 relate that the Tamacocies, the Xores, the Mares, and the Yuracares were their allies, it is probable that this was a case of such Indians violently subjugated and used as auxiliaries in war (14). While the Tamacocies (Chamacoco)

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14. Moreno II, pp. 72 and 73.

were subsequently emancipated from their Chiriguano conquerors and emigrated to the east, most of the Chané, who formerly were a very populous nation, remained in subjugation for a long time (15). Because of the poor treatment that the

15. Moreno II, p. 249.

Chiriguano normally accorded them, there was always a contrast between the two nations, and the Chané preferred to be dependent on the Spaniards rather than remain in slavery to the hated Chiriguano (16). According to Corregidor Tomina's report

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16. Moreno II, p. 250.

in 1618, already mentioned in what has been written above, the relationship between the Chiriguano population and the Chané population was such that the number of pure Chiriguano was smaller than the number of their subjects. According to the estimate made in this connection, the population of the Chiriguano of the Cordillera consisted of 1,500 pure Chiriguano, among whom were distributed 10,000 Chané. Among the 400 Chiriguano of the province of Machareti were distributed 5,000 Chané slaves. Yet for several centuries the Chané must have remained in harsh slavery to the Chiriguano until, in the second half of the 19th century, the formidable resistance of the Chiriguano was broken, and, after a severe blow,

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36/ 62/ 162 The town Ibitibi in the southern part of Chiriguano territory, south of the Pilcomayo River, examined minutely by Eric v. Rosen, was inhabited, according to the Indians, by about 300 persons. The town was located on a plain surrounded by mountains and forests. The houses formed a large circumference, the cacique's house being in the middle. Some shade trees had been planted in the open plaza between the cacique's house and the other houses. In other Chiriguano towns visited by v. Rosen, houses were dispersed without any order. According to the observations of v. Nordenskiöld too, Chiriguano towns are sometimes quite large and inhabited by around 100 persons. Often several towns are near one another. The houses are generally around a plaza sometimes planted with trees and serving as a place to play and to hold meetings.

342 We know the form of the Chiriguano houses in detail through v. Rosen (63), and primarily through the good photo-

63. Eric v. Rosen, op. cit., p. 191; Figs. 188-192 and 217.

[335] graphs of such houses. The houses are rectangular and their roofs end in points. Walls and roofs are held up by posts. The walls consist either of only vertical poles made from branches or reeds, close together and tied by horizontal ligatures, or of interwoven poles whose interstices are plastered with mud. The roof (opitié) is covered with straw. One type of house was illustrated in a photograph by v. Rosen (64), on which one

64. Eric v. Rosen, op. cit., Fig. 190.

[171] side of the roof projects at the top over the other side of the roof. The same house type also exists in the ancient culture of the Peruvians, as is shown by sketches found on the surface of ancient Peruvian vessels.

C Ca /84 cont./ The subjugated Chané were distributed among
175 the various social communities of the Chiriguano as subjects or
647 slaves. In the "Relación del Corregidor de Tomino Don Juan
162 Arce de Alvedia" in the year 1618, it is said that in the Province
[567] of Macharetí, "which is Pilcomayo and its environs," there
lived scarcely 600 pure Chiriguano, among whom were distributed
5,000 Chané "to one 200, to another 100, to another 80, and in
this way up to said number." In the Province of Charagua 4,000
C Ca/ Chané were distributed in the same manner to the 350 Chiriguano
175 of this province, and upwards of 1,000 Chané to the 200
647 Chiriguano of the Province of Guapay. As in other documents, in
567 this one as well, there is mentioned the ill treatment which
these subjects had to suffer from the Chiriguano and the hate
which they had toward their oppressors (318). The Chiriguano

C Ca
[146] 318. Moreno II, pp. 150 and 104.

scornfully called the Chané "tapií," while they themselves were
called /ñí/ by the latter "chera," that is, "my master" (319).

319. Moreno II, p. 154.

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175 Although most of these subjects or slaves were made up of Chané,
647 there were also among them other Indians who had been subjugated
567 in the expeditions, for example, Chicha Indians (320), and among

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[648] 320. Moreno II, p. 207.

the Chiriguano of Tendí also Guaraco Indians (321). According

321. Moreno II, p. 117.

to Techo (322), whose report was written in the second half of

322. According to Moreno II, pp. 226 and 227.

the 17th century, the Chiriguano commonly sold some of their
slaves to the Spaniards.